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ACTIVITIES REPORT
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I. INTRODUCTION

The Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe was created in 1976 as an independent agency to monitor and encourage compliance with the 1975 Helsinki Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE). It undertook a wide variety of activities to fulfill that mandate during the 97th Congress.

The primary focus of Commission activity during the past two years was the Madrid CSCE review conference which began in November 1980 to review implementation by all signatories of the military, security, economic, scientific, humanitarian and other provisions of the Helsinki Final Act. During the 97th Congress, the Madrid Meeting was in session for a total of 44 weeks. The Commission contributed to the formulation of U.S. policy for the Madrid Meeting and played an important and active role in the U.S. delegation to the review conference.

In addition to carrying out its monitoring and informational responsibilities in major international fora, the Commission has been active on a day-to-day basis in promoting implementation of the Helsinki accords. An important Commission project during the 97th Congress was a comprehensive report analyzing how well the signatory states had implemented the promises made in Helsinki seven years earlier.

Public hearings during the last two years have provided an important source of information on the state of Helsinki Final Act implementation, particularly in the human rights area. Attention was also focused on such diverse topics as the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, martial law in Poland, Soviet economic domination of Eastern Europe and possible Soviet complicity in the plot to assassinate the Pope. As a result, the Commission has been able to provide a regular flow of reports and information to the Congress, press and public on human rights and other issues involving Helsinki Final Act implementation.

The Commission has had a unique role in policy formulation and coordination on CSCE. During the past two years, Commissioners and staff held extensive meetings with officials of the Executive Branch to review CSCE policy issues. In addition, periodic consultations were held with officials of the other signatory governments.

While it is expected that the Commission will continue many of the same activities after the Madrid Meeting adjourns, the precise nature of these activities will be shaped to some extent by the outcome of that conference.

II. THE MADRID MEETING

A unique feature of the Helsinki Final Act is its section on follow-up. The 35 Helsinki signatory nations agreed in the Final Act to meet periodically to review past implementation and to consider new measures to enhance European cooperation and security. The second such follow-up meeting of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe opened in Madrid, Spain, in November 1980 and, because of deep East-West differences, had not ended by the end of 1982. Preparations for, and participation in, the Madrid Meeting consumed a significant portion of the Commission's time and resources during the 97th Congress.

The Commission's Role

Because of the nature and extent of Commission expertise, both Commissioners and staff members were integrated into the United States delegation to the Madrid Meeting along with representatives from the Departments of State, Commerce, Defense, the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency and the United States Information Agency. Representative Dante B. Fascell and Senator Bob Dole serve as Vice-Chairmen of the United States delegation and all Commissioners are members of the delegation. Commission Staff Director, R. Spencer Oliver, is the Deputy Chairman of the American delegation, under Ambassador Max Kampelman, who was appointed by the President to lead the U.S. negotiators. A Congressional delegation, led by Commission Chairman Fascell travelled to Madrid during the first weeks of the meeting to participate in the deliberations. In November 1982, Co-Chairman Robert Dole and Commissioner Orrin Hatch visited the meeting and took part in the proceedings.

Five sessions of the Madrid Meeting -- totaling 44 weeks -- were held during the 97th Congress. At any given time, about half the Commission staff was fully engaged in the negotiations in Madrid. Commission staffers represented the United States on various committees at the Madrid Meeting, served as the special assistant to Ambassador Kampelman, functioned as press, Congressional and public relations officers for the delegation, handled all the delegation's correspondence, researched and drafted speeches, prepared and delivered statements, provided translation services, helped develop Western tactics with our NATO allies, drafted reporting cables, and provided much of the administrative and secretarial support for the delegation.

Back-up support from those Commission staffers who remained in Washington during the Madrid sessions was vital to the delegation. Staff members provided the delegation with research on particular issues -- responding to inquiries and requests from the delegation on a regular basis -- and supplied updated information necessary for speeches and statements. Commission staff members also participated in the periodic strategy sessions of the intergovernmental steering group on CSCE held at the Department of

State. Commission staffers in Washington regularly briefed Commissioners, other Members of Congress and their staff, and representatives of the press and private organizations on the developments at the Madrid Meeting.

While the Madrid Meeting was in recess, the Commissioners and staff played an active role in developing U.S. policy and tactics toward the meeting and participated in numerous consultations with representatives from other Helsinki states in Washington, at NATO headquarters in Brussels and in various European capitals. Staff members continued to handle the delegation's correspondence and prepared speeches for the next phase of the meeting. During one break in the negotiations, the Commission hosted a briefing on Madrid for representatives of non-governmental organizations. During each recess, the Commission issued an interim report on the status of the meeting.

Following the Madrid Meeting, the Commission intends to report fully on its results and significance. One project in this area will be a detailed report and appraisal of the Madrid follow-up meeting to be released shortly after the conclusion of the meeting. Also planned are a public hearing with the U.S. delegation chairman, Ambassador Max M. Kampelman; a series of briefings for Commissioners, Congressional staffers and non-governmental organizations; and several post-Madrid consultations with other CSCE countries.

The Negotiations

The Madrid Meeting has taken place under difficult international circumstances. Afghanistan, Poland and continuing Soviet human rights violations have made agreement at the meeting very difficult. After nearly 50 weeks of deliberations spanning a period of nearly two and one-half years, the meeting itself remains deadlocked over the key issues of human rights and military security. During the session held in February through March 1982, allied Foreign Ministers, including then Secretary of State Haig, attended the Madrid Meeting and gave speeches strongly condemning the imposition of martial law in Poland and Soviet complicity in these events. The import of the events in Poland was so great during this phase that the Western countries decided to suspend negotiations with the East on a concluding document.

During the most recent phase, held from November to December 1982, efforts to end the meeting with a balanced and substantive concluding document foundered as a result of continued human rights violations in Poland and the Soviet Union and the inability of the negotiators to resolve crucial differences in approach to a prospective post-Madrid meeting on Confidence and Security-Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe. Secretary of State Shultz visited the meeting shortly before the end of this phase, met with the allied heads of delegation and delivered a press statement in support of Western positions.

Despite the inordinate length of the Madrid Meeting and its lack of dramatic results, it has served U.S. interests in a number of significant ways. It has helped to focus world-wide attention on Soviet transgressions in Afghanistan, Poland and in the area of human rights. It has solidified Western unity in the face of Eastern intransigence and has won the support of neutral and non-aligned countries on most issues. It has produced provisional agreement on large parts of a lengthy draft concluding document which goes a long way toward meeting Western concerns both in the area of military security and in the field of human rights. And, finally, it has maintained an open channel for East-West communications during a period of rising international tensions.

III. HUMAN RIGHTS RESEARCH AND HUMAN CONTACTS CASEWORK

Mandated by its enacting legislation to pay particular heed to the humanitarian provisions of the Helsinki Final Act, the Commission staff devotes considerable time and attention to research and documentation of violations of these provisions in Warsaw Pact countries. The Commission receives a steady stream of letters and reports on human rights problems from individuals, private and governmental organizations in the United States and Europe, as well as from various unofficial citizens' groups and individuals in the Warsaw Pact nations. The material is augmented by Foreign Broadcast Information and Joint Publications Research Service translations of official government statements, East and West European and Soviet media, plus relevant reports from the Western and emigre press.

This massive documentation on human rights problems in the Warsaw Pact countries is organized into two kinds of files: issue files, including topical reports on national, religious, cultural, political, civil, ethnic, social and economic problems; and individual cases, including information on hundreds of individual prisoners of conscience, particularly from the Soviet Union. All these files on human rights problems are updated on a regular basis as new information becomes available from various sources.

These extensive and recently revamped files on human rights issues and individual prisoners of conscience are used extensively by the Commission staff for researching reports and special projects; preparing background materials for hearings; providing information for numerous speeches by Commissioners and by the U.S. Delegation to the Madrid Meeting; responding to requests from the public, Congress, the media and various researchers; and compiling briefing materials for Congressional delegations travelling to Europe.

In addition, the Commission staff responds to many requests from individuals, private organizations, Members of Congress, and the media for information on human rights issues, particularly the status of individual prisoners of conscience in Warsaw Pact countries.

During the 97th Congress, special human rights research projects have included the preparation of a comprehensive 255-page report to Congress, Implementation of the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe: Findings and Recommendations Seven Years After Helsinki, over half of which was devoted to an analysis of the human rights situation in the Warsaw Pact countries. The Commission served as the primary resource for human rights information for the dozens of speeches of the U.S. delegation to the Madrid Meeting. Other projects include the translation of 130 documents of the Moscow Helsinki Group; the nomination of individual Soviet and East European human rights activists for the 1981 and 1982 Nobel Peace Prizes; the preparation of background information on the situation of religious believers in the USSR for the U.S. participants in the May 1982 Moscow Peace Conference for Religious Leaders and the provision of information on topics such as independent labor unions, forced labor and prison camps in the Soviet Union.

Much of the Commission staff's daily work has focused on individual cases falling under the Final Act's human contacts provisions such as family reunification, binational marriage, and travel abroad. These cases, which form a substantial portion of the Commission's total casework, are now being handled under the supervision of a full-time caseworker in collaboration with country/area officers and with the assistance of student interns. Most incoming casework correspondence comes from individuals and organizations trying to facilitate the emigration of their relatives, friends, or colleagues from the Soviet Union and Romania.

The staff maintains extensive files on over one thousand such cases and hundreds of staff hours are spent on casework correspondence. The Commission staff compiles and regularly updates lists of unresolved human contacts cases. It maintains contact with our Embassies in Eastern Europe in order to ascertain the most current information on these cases. The Commission periodically presents lists of unresolved human contacts cases to representatives of East European governments. To this end, the Commission staff attempts to monitor the status of each particular case to ensure the accuracy of these lists. The Commission staff also spends time counseling and advising family members, concerned individuals, representatives of private groups and Congressional staffs on possible strategies to resolve human contact cases. For example, throughout the hunger strikes conducted in 1982 in the USSR by the Soviet spouses of Americans, the Commission staff monitored the situation on a daily basis, while the Commissioners sent telegrams to Soviet and American officials and participated in press conferences to focus attention on these cases.

Due, in part, to the Commission's concerted efforts during the annual Congressional review of Most-Favored-Nation status for Romania and Hungary, an unprecedentedly large percentage of divided family and prisoner of conscience cases for those countries were positively resolved in 1981 and 1892.

IV. PUBLIC HEARINGS AND MEETINGS

The Commission conducted seven public hearings in the 97th Congress on various aspects of Soviet and East European implementation of the Helsinki Final Act. Prior to each hearing, the Commission staff researched relevant issues and prepared briefing materials for the Commissioners and background information for release to the press and public at the hearings. A hearing record -- including written statements -- was published and distributed to the Commission's mailing list after each hearing. Unless otherwise indicated, the hearings were normally chaired by Commission Chairman Fascell.

Soviet Violation of Helsinki Final Act: Invasion of Afghanistan

On July 22, 1981, the Commission held a joint hearing on the Soviet Invasion of Afghanistan with the House Subcommittee on Human Rights and International Organizations of the Foreign Affairs Committee. Witnesses included "Miss Nahid," an 18-year-old Afghan woman who led a demonstration of school children in April of 1980 against Soviet domination in her country; Thomas Gouttiere, director of the Afghan studies program at the University of Nebraska at Omaha; Malik Muhammed Hussain Wardak, an Afghan freedom fighter leader; Karen McKay, the Executive Director of the Committee for a Free Afghanistan; Dr. Bashir, founding member of the Afghan National Liberation Front; M. Seddiq Farhang, former economic adviser to Babrak Karmal; and Alfred Monks, professor of international relations and political science at the University of Wyoming at Laramie.

Religious and National Dissent in Lithuania

Representative Millicent Fenwick chaired an August 5, 1981 hearing on religious and national dissent in Lithuania. Testifying before the Commission were Stephen Palmer, Acting Assistant Secretary of State for Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs; Vladas Sakalys, a Lithuanian who escaped on foot from his country in 1980; Father Casimir Pugevicius, director of Lithuanian Catholic Religious Aid in New York; and Ray Chesonis, vice-President of the Lithuanian American Community and former public member of the U.S. delegation to the Madrid Meeting.

The written record of this hearing included statements from Senator John Heinz and Representatives Charles Dougherty and Cardiss Collins; and reports from the Lithuanian American Council, Inc.; Lithuanian-American Community of the U.S.A.; Lithuanian World Community and the Supreme Committee for the Liberation of Lithuania. For the hearing, the Commission staff prepared and released updates on the Catholic Committee and the members of the Lithuanian Helsinki Group, including summaries of Lithuanian Helsinki Group documents, biographical sketches and appeals on behalf of imprisoned members of the Group.

Fifth Anniversary of the Formation of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group

On November 16, 1981, Major General Pyotr Grigorenko, a founding member of the Ukrainian and Moscow Helsinki Groups, testified before the Commission to commemorate the Fifth Anniversary of the Formation of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group. Other witnesses included Myroslaw Smorodsky, former public member of the U.S. delegation to the Madrid Meeting; Nina Strokata-Karavansky, a founding member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group and a former political prisoner in the Soviet Union; and Dr. Volodymyr Malynkovych, also a founding member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group.

In addition to her testimony, Ms. Strokata-Karavansky submitted written statements on imprisoned members of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, including Hanna Mykhaylenko, Vasyl Barladyanu, Yury Shukhevych and Yury Badzyo. Among the Ukrainian organizations which submitted statements for the record were the World Congress of Free Ukrainians; the Helsinki Guarantees for Ukraine Committee; Smoloskyp, the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America; and the Ukrainian National Association. The Commission staff prepared background information including updated biographies of the 30 imprisoned members of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group for release at the hearing.

The Crisis in Poland and Its Effects on the Helsinki Process

Commission Co-chairman Bob Dole presided over a December 29, 1981 hearing on the imposition of martial law in Poland and its effect on the future of the CSCE process.

The main witness was Zdzislaw Rurarz, former Polish Ambassador to Japan who defected on December 24 and requested political asylum in this country. Ambassador Max Kampelman, the Chairman of the U.S. delegation to the CSCE review meeting in Madrid also testified on the impact of the events in Poland on the conference and the effect it would have on any further negotiations. Also testifying were Stanislaw Baranczak, founder of the Committee for the Defense of Workers in Poland; Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for European Affairs, John Scanlan; and Tom Kahn, Assistant to the President of the AFL-CIO.

Phase IV of the Madrid CSCE REview Meeting

The Undersecretary of State for Political Affairs Lawrence S. Eagleburger and Chairman of the U.S. delegation Max M. Kampelman were the witnesses at a Commission hearing on March 23, 1982 to examine the progress of the Madrid Meeting and to assess the prospects for the next phase.

Soviet Involvement in the Polish Economy

On April 1, 1982, the Commission heard testimony from the former Polish Ambassador to Japan, Zdzislaw Rurarz, on the extent of Soviet control and involvement in the Polish economy from the 1950s to the present.

Assassination Attempt on Pope John Paul II

On September 23, 1982, the Commission heard testimony on alleged Bulgarian and Soviet complicity in the assassination attempt on Pope John Paul II. Ms. Claire Sterling, noted journalist, presented evidence established and documented through private and official investigations which seriously supports the possible involvement of Bulgaria and the USSR. Other witnesses included Michael Ledeen, Senior Fellow from the Georgetown Center for Strategic and International Studies and Atanov Slavov, a professional writer and emigre from Bulgaria.

COMMISSION MEETINGS

Ambassador Franz Van Dongen, head of the Netherlands delegation to the Madrid Meeting and representative of the 10-member European Community, accompanied by Dutch CSCE expert Hans Meesman, visited Washington for consultations with U.S. officials on January 13, 1981. The Commission sponsored a meeting with the Dutch officials and held a luncheon in honor of Ambassador Van Dongen.

Three representatives from the West German Foreign Ministry arrived in Washington on February 20, 1981, and spoke with American officials regarding bilateral affairs and CSCE issues. The visiting delegation included Mr. Braeutigam, Senior Advisor to Helmut Schmidt; Mr. Gunter Joetze, CSCE expert in the Foreign Ministry; and Mr. Holik, military security expert. Commissioners and their CSCE liaisons were invited to attend the meeting along with the staff of the Commission.

Together with the Congressional Research Service and the Joint Economic Committee, the Commission sponsored a forum on March 6, 1981, at which international scholars reviewed East European compliance with the economic and commercial information provisions of the Final Act.

A group of leading figures in the New York-based Helsinki Watch -- including Chairman Robert Bernstein -- came to Washington for a day of discussions with Administration and Congressional leaders on human rights and its role in international relations. After meeting with then-Assistant Secretary of State for Europe, Lawrence Eagleburger, on March 18, 1981, they called on Chairman Fascell in his office. Several Commissioners attended this informal meeting.

On April 27, 1981, the Commission requested that Assistant Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger meet with the Commission in executive session to discuss the status of the negotiations and possible future developments at the Madrid Meeting. One question in particular was how balance between human rights and security would be worked out in the concluding document. Due to illness, Amb. Eagleburger could not attend but he was represented by Deputy Assistant Secretary Allen Holmes.

The Commissioners held an informal, closed meeting on May 28, 1981, with Ambassador Max M. Kampelman, who was in Washington for a brief visit. Chairman Fascell and the Commission wanted to inform Amb. Kampelman of the Commission's concerns that balance be preserved between human rights and security issues in the concluding document and asked the Ambassador for an update on the negotiations.

On September 17, 1981, the Commission hosted a "Briefing on Madrid" for representatives of non-governmental organizations and other interested individuals. Ambassador Kampelman addressed the gathering and responded to questions. A reception followed the briefing. Among the more than 100 in attendance were representatives from ethnic, religious and human rights organizations; Public Members appointed by the President during the first phase of the Madrid Meeting; and many Members of Congress and their aides.

Dr. Herbert Hupka, Chairman of the Subcommittee on the Free Flow of Information and People of the North Atlantic Assembly, led a ten-member delegation to the United States the week of September 21-27, 1981. Dr. Hupka specifically asked for a meeting with the Commission to discuss the future of the CSCE process; how to continue to promote the free flow of information and people; and the prospects for CSCE and human rights under the Reagan Administration. The Commission held a most productive roundtable discussion with Dr. Hupka and his group on September 22.

Before the public hearing on the Fifth Anniversary of the Ukrainian Helsinki Monitoring Group on November 16, 1981, the Commission again asked Ambassador Kampelman to appear before a closed session to brief the Commissioners on the current status of negotiations in Madrid. This was primarily an opportunity for the Commissioners to impress upon the Ambassador their deep concern that balance be preserved in whatever outcome emerges from the Meeting.

During the 97th Congress, the Commission staff organized meetings with various human rights activists and others with first-hand knowledge of the current situation in various Warsaw Pact countries. In May 1982, for example, the Commission provided a public forum to hear the views of Estonian dissident Sergei Soldatov. There have been many other such meetings on the staff level. For example, in May 1981 Commission staffers met with the

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Romanian Committee for the Defense of Religious Freedom, and two former Soviet Jewish prisoners of conscience, Hillel Butman and Iosif Mendelevich; in December 1981 with former Soviet Moldavian journalist, Nicolas Loupan, and Cronid Lubarsky, editor of the USSR News Brief; in April 1982 with former Czechoslovak Central Committee member, Zdenek Mlynar, now active in Charter 77; and in October 1982 with American journalist, David Satter, former Financial Times correspondent in Moscow.

V. COORDINATION AND POLICY: U.S. AND INTERNATIONAL

During the 97th Congress, the Commission continued to assist in the coordination of U.S. policy on CSCE issues. The Commission worked closely with other U.S. Government agencies to develop policies and took part in consultations with many of the other 34 countries participating in the Helsinki process.

The Commission worked closely with the Bureau of European Affairs of the Department of State. The Commission staff meet frequently with State Department officers who are concerned with CSCE matters and with other Department officers whose work is related to CSCE issues, including the desk officers of most of the signatory states. The Regional Political Military Affairs Office in the European Bureau provided the staff with copies of State Department cables related to CSCE matters.

Commission staff members and representatives of other organizations in the U.S. Government, including the Department of Defense, the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, United States Information Agency and the Department of Commerce, participated actively with the Department of State in the formulation of policy positions relating to CSCE. In addition, Commission staff did the initial drafts of several position papers and speeches used by the delegation at Madrid. The Commission staff authored many of the new proposals tabled by the United States and its allies at the Madrid Meeting.

The Commission has also participated in consultations with other signatories to the Final Act. The principal forum for coordinating the positions of the allies are NATO meetings held periodically in Brussels and informal meetings of the allied heads of delegations and their principal aides held periodically in various West European cities. Commission staff members participated regularly in these consultative meetings.

Commission staff also participated in bilateral consultations in the U.S. with several CSCE signatories. Among Western signatories, the Commission met with CSCE Ambassadors or officials from the Netherlands, the Federal Republic of Germany, Austria and Switzerland. In addition, staff members continued regular contacts with Embassy officials from several CSCE states including the FRG, France, Yugoslavia, Romania, Hungary and Turkey.

VI. CONGRESSIONAL RELATIONS

Although the Commission is an independent agency with representation from the Executive Branch, the majority of Commissioners are Members of Congress and the Chairman is appointed by the Speaker of the House. As a result, the Commission maintains a special relationship with the Congress and works closely with individual Members, Committees, Subcommittees, and the Congressional Research Service of the Library of Congress.

In 1981 and 1982, the Commission staff regularly responded to Congressional inquiries regarding the CSCE process and the Madrid Meeting, as well as issues affecting East-West relations and human rights in Eastern Europe. The Commission staff also filled many requests for information on the status of individual cases during the 97th Congress. In addition to supplying this information, the Commission staff suggested actions a Member might take, provided materials for the preparation of speeches and statements in the Congressional Record and drafted letters or statements for the Member's use. If the staff was unable to furnish the necessary information, it referred the Member's office to the appropriate private organization or government agency.

The Commission also functioned as a clearinghouse for information about Congressional activities on U.S.-European human rights and other Helsinki-related issues. Often, Congressional staffers contacted the Commission to inquire what other Congressional offices have been active in a particular case and what actions have been taken on behalf of that case. Many offices routinely sent the Commission copies of letters they have sent or statements they have made regarding individual cases so that the Commission would be kept abreast of these efforts and be better able to inform other offices.

In Madrid, the Commission staff acted as the Congressional relations officers for the U.S. delegation and had complete responsibility on the delegation for visiting Members and Congressional staffers. Among the Congressional visitors to the Madrid Meeting during the 97th Congress were Rep. Don Bonker and Mr. Fariborz Fatemi, the Chairman and the Staff Director of the House Subcommittee on Human Rights and International Organizations; Mr. Bob Ludwiczak, Administrative Assistant to Senator Charles Grassley; Ms. Nancy Stetson of the minority staff of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee; Mrs. Joanne Kemp, wife of Rep. Jack Kemp and the chairwoman of the Congressional Wives for Soviet Jewry; Rep. Phil Crane; and Rep. Stephen Solarz and Mr. Ed Friedman, the Chairman and Staff Associate of the House Subcommittee on Asian and Pacific Affairs. In November 1982, Commission Co-chairman Bob Dole, who is also a Vice-chairman of the U.S. delegation, visited Madrid and addressed a plenary session of the conference. Commissioner Orrin Hatch, accompanied by Dr. Michael Pillsbury of the Senate Steering Committee, also participated in the Madrid Meeting.

While there was relatively little Congressional travel to the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe in 1981 and 1982, the Commission supplied background materials to those Members of Congress who did travel to those countries.

While the Commission has no legislative authority, the Commission staff served as a resource for Members of Congress, their staffs and Committee staffs in the initiation and drafting stages of resolutions dealing with CSCE, human rights and related issues. The Commission -- through public hearings -- provided a forum for Members to express their views on many Helsinki-related issues and, where appropriate, held joint hearings with legislative Committees of the Congress.

The Commission played a pivotal role in the 1981 and 1982 Congressional reviews of Hungary's and Romania's eligibility to receive Most-Favored-Nation (MFN) trading status in conformity with the 1974 Trade Act's Jackson-Vanik provisions. As part of its mandate to monitor and promote compliance with the humanitarian provisions of the Final Act, the Commission each year collected human rights information on Hungary and Romania pertinent to the MFN review and provided it to the relevant Executive Branch agencies, Congressional offices and the Subcommittees on Trade of the House and Senate which conduct hearings on the subject annually. Both the Commission Chairman and Co-chairman submitted testimony at the MFN hearings and the Commission staff prepared speeches, testimony and briefing materials on this issue for many other Members of Congress. The Commission staff also helped draft Senate Resolution 445 aimed at facilitating emigration from Romania and encouraging an expansion of religious and cultural freedom in that country.

Commission publications are available to all Congressional offices and hearing notifications are published in the Congressional Record so that interested Members will be kept informed of the Commission's activities. In early 1982, the Commission sent a "Dear Colleague" letter describing the Commission and its work to all Members of Congress.

VII. REPORTS AND PUBLICATIONS

Among the various reports and publications the Commission issued and/or distributed during the 97th Congress are:

(a) Implementation of the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe: Findings and Recommendations Seven Years After Helsinki -- Released in November 1982, this comprehensive staff report assesses implementation of the Helsinki Final Act during the seven years since its signing, with special emphasis on the period since the Commission's last report in August 1980. Because of the large number of violations of the Final Act in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, the report concentrates on developments in that area.

This document also serves as an overview of compliance of the

two-year period since the CSCE Madrid review conference opened in the fall of 1980. In special appendices, the report gives a detailed account on the status of political activists in Czechoslovakia; an updated listing of imprisoned members of the Helsinki Monitoring Groups in the USSR and Lithuania; and a chart illustrating conditions of incarceration under various penal regimes in the USSR.

(b) CSCE Digest -- Issued bi-monthly, the Digest is a detailed compilation of American and European media coverage of Helsinki-related topics. The Digest, which includes a section on Commission activities, is mailed to interested Members of Congress, governmental and private organizations and members of the media and general public in the United States and Europe.

(c) The Madrid CSCE Review Meeting: Interim Reports -- After the close of each phase of the Madrid Meeting, the Commission prepared reports detailing events which occurred during that particular phase, the progress achieved and the prospects for the future of the review meeting. The reports are dated January 6, 1981, August 1981, January 9, 1982 and March 23, 1982.

(d) A Thematic Survey of the Documents of the Moscow Helsinki Group -- This report, released on May 12, 1981, was based on materials submitted by Lyudmila Alekseeva, the representative of the Moscow Helsinki Group in the United States, and was translated and edited by the staff of the Commission. The survey consists of various documents of the Group and a list of the imprisoned members of the Group still in the Soviet Union.

(e) Basket II Compliance: East European Economic Statistical Quality -- In May 1982, the Commission published this 114-page compilation of papers prepared by the Congressional Research Service assessing compliance of East European economies with one aspect of Basket II of the Final Act and analyzing individual country compliance records.

(f) Human Rights in Czechoslovakia: The Documents of Charter '77, 1977-1982, -- This volume, dated July 1982, is a compilation of the documents and letters of the Czechoslovak human rights organization known as Charter '77. The compilation contains all the numbered documents issued by the Charter between 1977 and 1980 when the numbering ceased. It includes a final chapter containing Charter documents issued in 1982 when the numbering sequence was resumed. The compilation is the most comprehensive collection of Charter '77 documents in English translation available in the United States and, as such, is an important research and reference tool for those working in the Soviet, East European and human rights fields.

(g) Staff Report on the Human Rights Situation in Turkey -- This was a report on the political and human rights situation in

Turkey prepared by a Commission staff delegation which visited Turkey from August 22-29, 1982 as part of a fact-finding mission to several European countries. In addition to discussions on the wide range of Helsinki-related issues, the staff delegation investigated allegations of human rights violations in Turkey. The report is based on extensive research done by the staff prior to the visit and on the findings and experience it gained while in Turkey.

(h) Semi-Annual Reports by the President to the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe -- These reports, initiated in December, 1976, are required by legislation establishing the Commission and are prepared by the State Department. They have provided, at six month intervals, a comprehensive and detailed account of the record of implementation by CSCE signatories. The Commission has disseminated these reports widely to the press, the public and official and private organizations in all signatory countries.

VIII. COOPERATION WITH NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS

Non-governmental organizations (NGOs) are a primary source of information for the Commission as well as the major channel through which the Commission publicizes its work. The Commission, therefore, keeps in close and regular contact with representatives of the various private groups interested in CSCE. NGO representatives receive all Commission publications and press releases and are invited to attend Commission meetings and hearings. On a less formal basis, Commissioners and staff members meet and consult frequently with representatives of private organizations.

The Commission attempts to provide a forum for NGOs to express their views by inviting private witnesses to testify and submit statements at Commission public hearings. Often, NGOs provide the impetus for the hearing. The Commission, by maintaining close contacts with NGOs, is geared to bring the particular concerns of private groups to government attention thus making government CSCE policy more responsive to non-governmental organizations and government information more accessible to them.

In an effort to expand its contacts with NGOs, in 1982 the Commission staff prepared a comprehensive "Organizations List" of over 200 national and regional human rights, ethnic and religious organizations with an expressed or potential interest in the Commission's work.

Throughout the Madrid Meeting, members of the Commission staff served as liaison for the U.S. delegation with the hundreds of private organizations represented there. Frequent briefings were held and meetings with U.S. and other delegation leaders were arranged. The Commission staffers on the U.S. delegation also had primary responsibility for assisting the Public Members of the delegation, 30 prominent individuals representing a variety of

ethnic, religious, labor and civic constituencies. The Commission staff prepared special briefing books for these individuals and provided them with Commission materials prior to their arrival in Madrid. Throughout the 97th Congress, Commission staff members continued to serve as the U.S. delegation's liaison with the many NGO representatives and visitors who attended sessions of the conference in 1981 and 1982.

During the summer recess of the Madrid Meeting, on September 17, 1981, the Commission hosted a "Briefing on Madrid" for NGO representatives and other interested persons. Nearly 150 individuals attended the session to hear Ambassador Max Kampelman, Chairman of the U.S. delegation to the Madrid Meeting, report on the progress of the negotiations and respond to questions from the audience. A reception immediately following the briefing was held in the Capitol and was attended by Commissioners and and other Members of Congress.

In addition to the briefing, the Commission staff kept the NGO community informed of developments at the Madrid Meeting throughout 1981 and 1982. While the meeting was in session, a section on the negotiations was a regular feature in the bi-monthly Commission publication CSCE Digest which is mailed to several hundred private organizations. During the Madrid recesses, the Commission staff prepared and published four interim reports on the status of the Madrid Meeting. These reports were sent to a larger audience of several thousand including numerous NGOs in the United States and Europe. Commission staffers also maintained extensive personal contacts with NGO representatives in order to keep them up-to-date on the meeting.

In order to provide an opportunity for NGOs to express their views on the Madrid Meeting and for them to learn the views of influential European participants in the Madrid Meeting, the Commission sponsored three informal meetings with NGO representatives and CSCE delegates in 1982. While the CSCE Ambassadors from West Germany, Austria and Switzerland were in Washington for consulations with U.S. Government officials, the Commission arranged for each to meet with a small group of NGO representatives at the Commission offices.

During the 97th Congress, the Commission participated in many conferences, seminars, assemblies and meetings hosted by private organizations and professional associations both in the United States and abroad. On numerous occasions, Commissioners and staff members presented reports and papers, delivered speeches and participated in panel discussions.

The Commission, together with Ambassador Max M. Kampelman, was the recipient of the 1982 Hubert H. Humphrey First Amendment Freedoms Prize presented by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith. Chairman Fascell accepted the award on behalf of the Commission at the ADL's annual meeting in New York in June.

IX. OTHER PUBLIC CONTACTS

An important part of Commission public activity consists of participation in various meetings -- on topics ranging from human rights to military security -- with governmental, academic and professional groups. Participation includes the presentation of papers by Commissioners and staff; taking part in panel discussions; and keeping abreast of the findings of relevant conferences and seminars.

During the 97th Congress, the Commission staff participated in meetings with various arms of the U.S. Government including the National Security Council, the White House Office for Public Liaison, the U.S. Information Agency, the Departments of State, Commerce, Defense (the Joint Chiefs of Staff, the Office of the Secretary of Defense, the National War College), the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, and the Library of Congress (particularly the Congressional Research Service). For example, the Commission staff participated in the State Department Conference on Democratization in Communist Countries in October 1982, focusing inter alia on the importance of exchanges with Warsaw Pact countries.

Numerous universities have requested Commission participation in seminars, conferences and lectures including the Harvard Russian Research Center, the Soviet and East European Research Program at the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies, Swarthmore College, the Institute on Comparative Political and Economic Systems and the East-West Economic Forum of Georgetown University, the University of Southern California, the New School for Social Research, the Allard K. Lowenstein International Human Rights Project at Yale University Law School, the Institute for East-West Security Studies, and the Arden House Conference on U.S.-Soviet Relations.

X. MEDIA ACTIVITIES

The main periodical publication of the Commission is the CSCE Digest which attempts a detailed compilation of significant U.S. and European media coverage of Helsinki-related topics as well as staff studies on selected issues. The CSCE Digest also includes a section on Commission activities and is mailed to interested Members of Congress, governmental and private organizations, media representatives and the general public in the United States and Europe. Selected Foreign Broadcast Information Service (FBIS) daily translations of media in the Soviet Union, Eastern and Western Europe are included in the Digest as are articles relevant to the CSCE process and East-West relations. The Digest was issued regularly throughout the 97th Congress.

The Commission maintained extensive contacts with media representatives of human rights organizations and groups concerned with national, ethnic and religious rights. Such organizations themselves publish newspapers, journals and information bulletins

and have welcomed information on Commission activities, general information on human rights issues and translations of samizdat documents by the Commission staff.

The Commission has also worked closely with the media elements of U.S. government agencies -- especially the appropriate language services of the Voice of America, the Press Service (Wireless File) of the United States Information Agency, and the news staffs of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty. These organizations are vital to the Commission's work since they carry our messages to East European and Soviet audiences whose access to uncensored information is restricted by their own governments. VOA, RFE and Radio Liberty gave extensive coverage to Commission activities with special emphasis on public hearings and the Madrid CSCE review conference, at which all three news organizations maintained permanent correspondents. The effectiveness of their coverage has been frequently demonstrated by the appearance of criticism and rebuttal articles in the Soviet and East European media. The latest example was a scathing attack by TASS (Moscow, December 14, 1982) on the Commission's Implementation Report: Seven Years After Helsinki, extensive excerpts of which had been broadcast to the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe by the three radio services.

Throughout the 97th Congress, Commission staffers maintained extensive contacts with media representatives who recognize the Commission as an authoritative source for background material on human rights issues and specific cases. Commissioners and staff were interviewed for a number of articles and appeared on both radio and television programs. The continuing Madrid Meeting, the situation in Poland, the Soviet-West European pipeline dispute, the hunger-striking Soviet spouses, and the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan focused media attention on the Helsinki process and led to numerous inquiries concerning the role of the Commission and the prospects for the future of the Helsinki process.

Some representative examples of Commission media activities in 1981 follows:

Commission Chairman Dante B. Fascell and Dr. Olin C. Robison, President of Middlebury College, were interviewed by Herbert Kaplow on ABC's "Directions" (March 15) on the extent of freedom of religion in the Soviet Union.

A Commission hearing on Soviet violations of the Helsinki Final Act engendered by the invasion and occupation of Afghanistan (July 22) was covered by the wire services, several TV networks, VOA, RFE and Radio Liberty.

A House Resolution, introduced by Commissioner Wirth (December 8), associating the House of Representatives with the aims of the hunger-strike protest of Nobel prize-winner Andrei Sakharov, along with a similar Senate resolution and a statement

by President Reagan, was given widespread exposure by the media. The result was an unprecedented move. On December 14, the Soviet government acceded to Sakharov's demands to permit the emigration of his stepson's fiancee.

The December 28th Commission hearing on "The Situation in Poland and the Helsinki Process," featuring testimony by former Polish Ambassador Rurarz, Ambassador Kampelman, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State Scanlon and the AFL-CIO's Tom Kahn generated the most extensive media coverage of a Commission activity in recent memory. The hearing was featured on the evening TV and radio newscasts of all the major U.S. networks and repeated in most of their following morning shows as well. In addition, the Voice of America, Radio Liberty and Radio Free Europe used taped excerpts from the hearing in their extensive coverage, beamed in local languages, to the Soviet Union, Poland and other East European countries. Nearly all major U.S. newspapers gave heavy, front-page coverage to the hearing with photographs of Ambassador Rurarz and Commission members. Particularly extensive were the reports (December 29) in the Washington Post, the New York Times, the Los Angeles Times, the Philadelphia Inquirer, and the Miami Herald.

Specific examples of the Commission's media activities in 1982 includes the following:

The Commission organized a press conference in January 1982 for Representatives Elliott Levitas and Bud Shuster, who had just returned from a visit to the USSR, and Ambassador Max Kampelman, chairman of the U.S. delegation to the Madrid Meeting. The Congressmen presented Ambassador Kampelman with appeals they had received from Soviet human rights activists. The news conference was covered by TV crews from Dutch TV and ABC and correspondents from AP, Reuters, UPI, VOA, RFE and Radio Liberty. A TASS correspondent was also present.

Commission staffers made all the arrangements for a press conference in Madrid on February 9 at which Secretary of State Haig made clear to nearly 300 representatives of the international media that there would be "no business as usual" at the Madrid CSCE review meeting in the wake of the imposition of martial law in Poland.

Commission hearings on March 23 and April 1 received extensive media coverage. The former heard reports from Undersecretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger and Ambassador Max M. Kampelman on the current status of the Madrid meeting. The latter featured a second appearance at a Commission hearing by Zdislaw Rurarz, former Polish Ambassador to Japan, who charged that Soviet influence on the Polish economy approaches total control. Both hearings drew heated comment from the Polish and Soviet media, the former within 24 hours of the hearing (PAP and TASS); the latter within a week (Trybuna Ludu, April 10; Radio Moscow, April 6).

A syndicated column by Jack Anderson, which appeared on June 6 in the Washington Post, drew heavily on background materials provided by a Commission staffer. The column concerned the Commission's attempts to persuade evangelist Billy Graham to reconsider attending a propaganda-oriented disarmament conference in Moscow.

An op-ed article in the Wall Street Journal, August 17, on allegations that the Soviets were using "Slave Labor" on the pipeline to Europe was based, in part, on background material provided by a staff member. Also in August, the same staffer was interviewed on that subject by Pacifica Radio and the Washington Times.

The spring issue of World Affairs magazine contained the major speeches by the U.S. representatives to the Madrid CSCE review meeting covering the period from the convening of the conference in November 1980 through the adjournment on March 12, 1982. In addition to the speeches by Ambassador Kampelman, several by Commission Chairman Dante Fascell and Staff Director Spencer Oliver were included.

An article by Chairman Fascell appeared on the Opinion Page of the Christian Science Monitor September 29. The article, which appeared as the Moscow Helsinki Group announced its dissolution due to "intolerable KGB pressure," documented Chairman Fascell's perception that dissent in the USSR has been silenced but not crushed, despite claims to the contrary.

Another article by Chairman Fascell was published in the Washington Quarterly (Autumn 1982). His analysis at the time was that "the prospects for reaching substantive agreement at the Madrid CSCE Review Meeting are slim."

Chairman Fascell's perception of the Madrid prospects was shared by editorials in the Miami Herald (November 9) and the Washington Times (November 18) and in a lengthy article by James Markham in the New York Times (December 3).

In a column headed "The KGB at Work" by Jack Anderson, which appeared in scores of papers across the country, Anderson based the entire piece on a background briefing by a Commission staffer. The article concerned the Soviet persecution of members of the Helsinki Monitoring Groups which had been organized to monitor Soviet compliance with the Helsinki Accords.

Another syndicated column by Jack Anderson which appeared in the Washington Post (December 5) and concerned the harassment of the unofficial Soviet peace movement, was based largely on Helsinki Commission information. The column drew on the Commission's then unpublished Implementation Report.

At a news conference which the Commission co-sponsored with the Committee in Support of Solidarity, Co-chairman Bob Dole called the suspension of martial law in Poland "all but meaningless because the military regime has merely rewritten its harsh decrees into the nation's civil laws..." Co-chairman Dole's comments were given extensive coverage in the Washington Times (December 14) and by National Public Radio (December 13), as well as VOA, RFE and RL.